

SUCI's Election Manifesto 1980

Hardly three years have passed when a mid-term poll to the Lok Sabha has been imposed on the people. The Janata Government at the Centre, barely after twenty-eight months of its rule collapsed not because of any ideological differences but because of bickerings and squabbles within the Janata Party. It is not that the Janata Party alone is beset with internal squabbles and group rivalries, but these, in fact, have become the general and dominant features of all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties in our country.

It may be recalled that while Indira Gandhi was in power, rivalries and power struggles within her party became acute so much so that her Government was threatened with inevitable crisis of existence. Driven to such an eventuality, she, in her desperate bid to anyhow stick to power, thrust upon the people the traumatic experiences of the emergency rule when lakhs of people were thrown into jails, unlimited and dictatorial powers were concentrated in her hands, in the name of amending the constitution, freedom and autonomy of the judiciary and the Press were robbed, the working people were divested of their inalienable right to conduct legitimate democratic movements and by all this democracy was given a burial. And she did all this to satiate her outrageous lust for power.

Today, the Congress (I) is in a frantic bid to stage a comeback but the very attempt of it is already overcast with shadows of dissensions and disintegrations. The same is the case with the breakaway faction of the Janata Party under the leadership of Charan Singh, i.e. Janata (S) or Lok Dal which shows the signs of disintegration even at the incipient stage of its formation. The picture of other bourgeois parties is in no way different.

Capitalism is shifting burden of its overall crisis on to people

The reason for all these is to be traced to the crisis that has come to a head in the capitalist economy prevalent in our country and naturally this has its impact on all the bourgeois

parties. Added to this is the abysmal depth of depravity and degeneration of moral values and ethics which find their reflection in the abominable immoral and unethical conducts and behaviours of these political parties, groups and personalities.

In 1977, Charan Singh, Bahuguna combinations joined hands with Morarji Desai to rally under the slogan of "Indira Hatao" and "Fight Authoritarianism" and it was Charan Singh who posed himself as the most vociferous opponent to Indira Gandhi within the Morarji cabinet. But the same Charan Singh did not feel the slightest qualms of conscience to fall literally at the feet of Indira Gandhi in his covetous bid to become the Prime Minister. Indira Gandhi, who, while in power during emergency dissolved the DMK ministry has now forged electoral alliance with the same DMK in Tamil Nadu to fight the coming election. Bahuguna who joined hand with Charan Singh to topple the Morarji government and came forward to form a new party, the Lok Dal, because of dispute on the issue of seat distribution, kept himself and his followers apart at the time of formation of Lok Dal and ultimately made his exit from Charan's caretaker government. Now, the self-same Bahuguna is joining his force with Indira Gandhi.

More interesting are the cases in Kerala and Maharashtra. All the three principal contestants in the coming election—the Congress (I), Congress and Janata combinedly propped up the Muslim League Ministry of Koya. In Maharashtra, the avowed fighters against

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| Bihar | |
| 1. Jamshedpur | Pritish Chanda |
| 2. Vaishali | Nalini Ranjan Singh |
| Orissa | |
| 3. Sundargarh (ST) | Rohil Kumar Oram |
| 4. Jajpur (SC) | Baisnab Jena |
| Assam | |
| 5. Dhubri | Jainal Abedin |
| 6. Mongaldoi | Samarendra Narayan Deb |
| Uttar Pradesh | |
| 7. Machhlishahr | Shreepal Dubey |
| Haryana | |
| 8. Mohendragarh | Satyawan |
| Kerala | |
| 9. Quilon | James Joseph |
| Karnataka | |
| 10. Bangalore South | B. A. Raja Rao Sindhe |

'communalism' Congress-Lok Dal etc. are in happy company with 'Jana Sangh dominated' Janata Party in the PDF ministry of Sharad Pawar and the CPI(M) too is a partner in same PDF.

So, it is beyond any shadow of doubt that mutual combination or separation of these parties has no ideological basis whatsoever, nor has it any relevance to the vital interest and cause of the people and the country. The sole desire, aim or motive of these parties is to grab power anyhow, either on the single strength of the party or in combination with others, and how to sustain that power. The immorality of these parties has reached such a depth that horse trading of MPs at the time of impending fall of Janata government was an open secret and widely talked about in the capital. In other words, worst kinds of unethical and opportunist conducts have enveloped

the parliamentary political field of the country. That is why, what to speak of the all-India bourgeois parties, even among the regional bourgeois and pettybourgeois parties, disintegration, collision and collusion between the contending groups, divide to combine, combine to further divide, have become almost daily phenomena. These cannot but have their repercussions on the governments both at the Centre and in the states as a sequel to which a deep-seated insecurity and instability have permeated through and through the Indian parliamentary political system.

In the vortex of one crisis to a deeper crisis

For the last thirty-two years, the Indian bourgeoisie have tried various schemes and measures as in the economic so also in the political field with the sole object of sustaining its class rule. In the early phase, under

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| Andhra Pradesh | |
| 11. Bobbili | R. Mazumder |
| Tamil Nadu | |
| 12. Sivakasi | Suriyanarayanan |
| West Bengal | |
| 13. Jalpaiguri | Joydeb Mondal |
| 14. Jangipur | Luxmi Narayan Das |
| 15. Murshidabad | Abu Raihan Biswas |
| 16. Krishnanagar | Azizul Haque |
| 17. Jaynagar (SC) | Rajaram Roy Mondal |
| 18. Mathurapur(SC) | Renupada Halder |
| 19. Calcutta South | Subir Basu Roy |
| 20. Tomluk | Ashutosh Samanta |
| 21. Midnapore | Bhusan Mondal |
| 22. Bankura | Ashutosh Banerjee |
| 23. Birbhum (SC) | Baidyanath Mal |

the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, capitalist rule was consolidated by hoodwinking the people with various fake promises and the bluff of 'socialist pattern of society'! But the more the bourgeoisie tried to consolidate capitalist rule the more was the accentuation of the internal crisis of capitalism. This was reflected in the political field as well. Power was more and more centralised in the state organs, people lost one after another their hard-won freedoms and democratic rights, police military and upper strata of bureaucracy were vested more and more with unbridled power peoples' legitimate democratic movements were suppressed with brutal coercion.

Then, in the name of change in the leadership Indira Gandhi was projected on the scene and behind the fanfare of so called radical slogan people's discontent was

(Contd to page 2)

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Our Candidates in the Coming Election

(Contd. from page 1)
sought to be pacified. Indira, too, during her ten year rule, through various measures starting from bank nationalisation most faithfully served the aggregate monopoly interest and the cause of moribund capitalism. But due to the inexorable law of capitalism, with the further accentuation of crisis of the capitalist system, people's discontent took a sharper turn and burst forth in the Bihar and Gujarat movements against the misrule of Indira Gandhi. Even the suffocating rule of emergency, far from containing it stoked its fire ablaze. Faced with this situation, the bourgeoisie, in the last poll to the Lok Sabha improvised overnight a so-called unity among the four constituents to form the Janata conglomerate and placed it in power. For the time being they could thus stave off the crisis and by this device they initiated a two-party parliamentary system in the country for which they had been striving hard for long. But with the fall of the Janata Government within so brief a period, this design of the bourgeoisie, has no doubt, suffered a serious jolt.

Conspiracy to push country towards all out fascism

The parliamentary political system of the country, therefore, is faced with a severe crisis because of the intensification of infighting in all the bourgeois parties. Landed in such a crisis, the bourgeoisie has preferred another election and with the help of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties is trying their utmost to sustain moribund capitalism within the existing framework of parliamentary system. With this end in view and to satisfy the greed for power of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois leaders, they have imposed on crores of the famished people the entire burden of a costly mid-term poll. But however much they may desire and try to the contrary, the same reasons

The bourgeois parties and groups combine today to break tomorrow

for which the bourgeois parties are in the process of disintegration will continue to remain and any fresh attempt for stabilisation will be associated with their shadow. That is why, the bourgeoisie is keeping the door open for another possibility—if the frantic bid, they are making now to bring at least a semblance of temporary stability in the place of growing instability in the parliamentary system proves abortive. They have already made the proposal for vesting the President with absolute power a debating issue and are harping on the question of political instability in order to create a favourable public opinion in support of this proposal. Besides, there is also a subtle move to create opinion in favour of military rule.

In other words, the possibilities of establishment of constitutional dictatorship by vesting the President with supreme power as also military dictatorship if the situation becomes so desperate for the bourgeoisie, cannot be ruled out. In all such contemplated moves and steps, the wily bourgeois design and conspiracy are at work to push the country to all out fascism.

Moribund capitalism is obstructing path of progress

All these developments prove unmistakably that the crisis of Indian capitalism has come to a head and it is casting its ever-darkening shadow enveloping not only economic-political-social-cultural fields but even the family and personal life. Moribund capitalism has no hope of survival.

Looking at the economic picture of our country, it will be realized that the purchasing power of the people, on which depends the capitalist market, has been totally squeezed after 200 years of foreign imperialist rule followed by 32 years of exploitation by the country's ruling

capitalist class since the independence. 75% of the country's population still live in villages whose conditions are horrible. Cultivation is carried on still in the old, outmoded system. 32 years have elapsed since the independence, but there has not been mechanisation in agriculture, nor have necessary steps been taken for improving it. Drought or heavy rain are taking toll of crop every year. But even for the crop raised under these adverse conditions the farmer does not get a fair price. The businessmen are exploiting the farmers to make profits of crores of rupees. As a result, 82-83% of the vast rural population have been transformed into agricultural labourers, share croppers and poor and lower middle peasants—who have become proletariat or semi-proletariat, who are without food, clothing and education, who can hardly be recognized as human beings. They do not have the means for two square meals a day throughout the year.

Crippling Life in Towns and Villages

There are unemployed members in every family in towns and villages. Not to speak of newer employment opportunities, even the running industries are closing down for want of orders. The rate of increase of the number of sick industries is a clear pointer to the depth of crisis in industry. The entire burden due to this crisis is being shifted on to the workers and employees. Unemployment rate is going up rapidly as a sequel to retrenchment, lockout, layoff and closure. On the other hand, even those who are employed do not get a living wage. Although wage has increased in terms of money, the real income has decreased in relation to the rising prices. Moreover, the workers and employees are being deprived of their legitimate

right to bonus. Compulsory deduction is being made from salary in the name of CDS. As a result, the entire nation has been crippled under unbearable poverty, starvation and all sorts of diseases due to malnutrition. Under the circumstance, the capitalist market within the country has squeezed greatly owing to lack of purchasing power of the people. The Indian capitalists, although they are partners of the foreign imperialist multinational corporations, do not find it easy in the foreign markets in the face of the extremely stiff competition. As a result, industrial development has been halted in our country. And in this ever shrinking market, the competition among the capitalists is becoming acute and the more acute it becomes, the sharper grows their inner conflict among them. This severe inner conflict within the capitalist class is gripping the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties defending the class interest and is breaking the cohesion that was there within these parties.

Pushing into a Life Devoid of Culture, Morals, Ethics and Humanitarian Values

This crisis of capitalism has been not only pulling the people down into extreme economic distress, it has dealt a far more severe blow to the cultural and moral sphere. No sense of values are, in fact, working now anywhere within the society. Corruption pervades the entire society. Nepotism is no longer considered to be unfair. Neglect of duty is the order of the day everywhere. A total uncertainty in life has made man desperate and indisciplined. An aimless, unethical way of life has gripped the society. The honest and well-meaning have become cornered, because the goondas and anti-social elements are having an upper hand. On the other hand, the

majority of the people have become extremely self-centred and intolerant in their personal lives. The compassionate and sympathetic mind is getting lost in this society. As a sequel, it is not only the human relations that are suffering, the sweet family relations too are withering. In other words, the crisis-ridden capitalism is completely sucking out love, affection, compassion, etc. and begetting in their place an alienated dehumanised social life.

No Emancipation through change of Government without overthrow of capitalism

Evidently, therefore, capitalism in India stands today as the main obstacle in the way of progress and development of man in every respect. Under the circumstance, only destruction of the present moribund capitalist system can free man from all sorts of problems. But by no means can the object be achieved unless the present capitalist state of India be overthrown. Because, actually it is this capitalist state power which protects the capitalist social system in India. The state power means three organs of the state—military, judiciary and the bureaucratic administration along with the police. The whole capitalist state rests on these three organs or pillars. Until and unless the people can gradually give birth to, through democratic mass movements, their own political power as the alternative to this state power, they will not be able to overthrow the capitalist state by merely changing Government through elections. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our great leader, repeatedly pointed out:

"Whether a Government is changed through an election, a coup or any realignment of parties in the parliament through any means, that does not bring about any change in these three organs of the state which have developed just like a machine with a definite form and structure and with a definite style of

(Contd. to page 4)

WHO FOUGHT INDIRA'S POLITICS—SUCI OR CPI(M)?

Today the CPI (M) is rending the air with slogans of anti-authoritarianism and depicting Indira as an authoritarian force and talking much about fighting it, trying to impress upon the people how consistently anti-Indira they are. Let us recollect the various stands and reactions of CPI(M) on various steps and measures of Indira Gandhi, in the past vis-a-vis our party's stands and reactions.

On Congress split in 1969

CPI(M) Polit Bureau stated:

"The CPI(M) while reiterating its uncompromising hostility and opposition to the syndicate alliance and its avowedly reactionary political line and extending its support to the Indira Gandhi Government in every measure directed against the menace of the syndicate appeals to all democratic parties to awaken to this menace and fight it back."

(Peoples' Democracy 11.1.70)

In a note sent to Indira Gandhi CPI(M) General Secretary said:

"In the changed political situation when the threat from the syndicate wing of the Congress... had become imminent... our party openly announced its support to your government in so far as it is fighting the syndicate and its allies foiling their bid to take over the government". (People's Democracy 1.2.70).

CPI(M) Central Committee's stand:

"The Indira Gandhi wing also contains within its fold a healthy trend which hates big landlords and monopolists... it has raised certain slogans and taken certain measures which are in tune with the anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people". (People's Democracy 15.2.70).

Our Stand

Central Committee, SUCI, stated on 30.8.69

"The Central Committee

is of the considered view that the present conflict inside the Congress, centring the syndicate group and the Indira group, is not a struggle between the monopolists collaborating with imperialism and the so-called 'progressive national bourgeoisie', a close ally of people's democratic revolution, or, in general terms, between, reaction and progress. It is nothing but a reflection of the contradiction between the conservative section of the bourgeoisie representing individual interests of the monopolists and the so-called radical section of the bourgeoisie representing aggregate interest of capitalism. The correct stand, would therefore be, to take advantage of this contradiction, try to increase the rift between them and utilise it in developing mighty mass movements and accelerating the revolutionary preparation in our country."

On V. V. Giri's election

CPI(M) Polit Bureau stated:

"The Polit Bureau of Communist Party of India (Marxist) hails the victory of Shri V. V. Giri in the presidential contest and views it as a political victory of the popular and democratic forces against the forces of extreme reaction in the country".

(Peoples' Democracy 31.8.69)

Our party's stand:

"SUC was demanding the setting up of an alternate candidate in the presidential election, to be sponsored by the leftist parties. It would not have been very difficult to find out a candidate whose political honesty is beyond doubt, and who has unshakable faith in democratic movement. The basic issue is that by sponsoring an alternative candidate the rift within the Congress would have been sharpened and an alternative left leadership and left politics would have captured the imagination of the people throughout the length and

breadth of the country. Had this been possible people would have been made free from the confusion existing today in the Indian political plane. Unfortunately this correct course of action was not adopted by the major left parties and again they utterly failed to give a correct exposure of the significance of Mr. Giri's victory and the consequent possible danger of social democracy on the basis of which the chance of emergence of fascism exists. Masses of people are thus confused and this is definitely a setback to the cause of revolutionary movement in India."

(Proletarian Era, 3.10.69)

On Bank Nationalisation People's Democracy stated:

"The nationalisation of such institutions (the banks—Ed. P. E.) cannot but be a big event." Because "the measure has opened up some new possibilities and the progressive forces of the country should intervene to beat back determined reactionary opposition and see that nationalised banks become a tool for fighting monopoly interests."

(People's Democracy August 3, 1969)

Shri Ramamurti's speech in parliament:

"I and my party certainly welcome this measure as a step in the right direction. If out of factional conflict something good has come let us have it and not look at the conflict."

(People's Democracy, 17.8.69.)

CPI(M) Polit Bureau stated

"...The ruling Congress sponsors certain forward measures like the nationalisation of banks to meet the situation." (People's Democracy 31.8.69)

In another statement by Polit Bureau of CPI(M):

"...The process of mass radicalisation and the new mass polarisation... have been set in motion following bank nationalisation, and the winning of the presidential contest against

the syndicate's nominee". (Peoples' Democracy, 9.11.69)

SUCI Central Committee's statement on 30-8-69 on nationalisation of banks:

"It is one thing to support the demand for nationalisation of banks and other key and basic industries by the toiling millions engaged in fierce revolutionary struggle for emancipation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation while it is quite a different thing to hail an act of the bourgeoisie nationalising them. For in a capitalist state when the bourgeoisie takes recourse to nationalisation, it does so in the aggregate interest of capitalism precisely to bring about coalescence of monopolies with the state and thereby virtually subjugating the state to the interest of the monopolists. In this way the rock bottom foundation stone of fascism is laid. Hence, it cannot be the business of any progressive party or individual let alone the revolutionaries, to extend support to or praise the act of bank nationalisation of the Indian bourgeoisie".

(Proletarian Era, 3.10.69)

On imposition of Emergency:

No statement made by CPI(M), no resolution against the imposition of Emergency passed

This was highly appreciated by the CPI. Thus, Mr. Rajeswar Rao, General Secretary CPI, told the press, "the CPI(M) has not passed any resolution on the present emergency. The CPI(M) leaders are now in contact with Siddharta Shankar Ray and the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi". Asked about the purpose of these contacts, Mr. Rao answered: "For what I do not know let us hope for the better".

(Statesman, 19.7.75)

The memorandum submitted to Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi during Emergency by five Polit Bureau members on 9th April '76

supported the contention of Indira Gandhi of the danger of right reaction and US imperialism being the cause for the declaration of Emergency:

"The party's record, the memorandum asserted, is one of consistently carrying on a political-ideological fight against rightist policies, whether pursued by internal or external forces and against policies of the extreme left."

(People's Democracy, 25.4.76).

CPI(M)'s stand in support of 20-point programme of Indira Gandhi during Emergency

"The party is of the opinion that if these points (20 point programme—Editor P. Era) relating to peasant and agricultural labourers are honestly and sincerely implemented they would give some relief to those sections".

(People's Democracy 24.5.76)

SUCI Central Committee's statement on June 26, 1975 on the imposition of Emergency

"Although there exists no danger of internal security in the country, the Government of India by declaring the order of Emergency has attacked the very root of democracy."

Being faced with utter failure to solve the economic problems of the country, ever-increasing people's outburst against the ruling party and the internal crisis inside it that has been created by the recent judgment of the Allahabad High Court and the Supreme Court against the Prime Minister the ruling party has become absolutely perturbed and scared and declared Emergency.

We strongly condemn the manner in which the internal crisis of the ruling party has been posed and made to pass on as the danger for internal security of the country, a false pretext to take away the fundamental

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A stable Government in a bourgeois state means to people stability of their misery, destitution and poverty

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unctioning... The very orientation and norms and regulations of the capitalist state machine—its concept of jurisprudence, of democracy, of nation, of the people—have all developed conforming with the capitalist class interest and to defend capitalism, its system and its class rule. The government is just a mechanic or operator of this capitalist state machine. That is why, the character of the state cannot be changed through mere change of government. Unless the people's committees organised as the people's own instrument of struggle from the highest to the lowest level through democratic mass movements are developed as politically conscious entity on the edifice of higher proletarian culture and ethics so as to replace effectively the three principal organs on which the capitalist system survives, the people's alternative political power will not grow. Unless this task is accomplished there will be no revolution by there change of government through elections".

Raise The Election Battle into a Struggle For Restoration, Protection and Extension of Democratic Rights, norms, conducts and sense of values

Therefore, all those who genuinely mean it would have to build up gradually democratic mass movements conducive to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution, however painstaking the task may be. These mass movements will have to be built up in the burning problems in the people's life today, and at the same time for restoration, protection and sustention of the democratic rights, norms, conducts and sense of values against the severe crisis precipitated by the decadent capitalist system in the cultural moral sphere.

The alternative political power of the people can be given birth to only through this complex and protracted path of democratic mass movement. There is no alternative to this course. And, till the birth of the alternative power of the people, democratic mass movements will have to be continuously strengthened and broadened with this object in view. If an election comes incidental to this, it should be approached and conducted as conducive to the mass movements.

Two class Angularities at work in elections too

So, it is evident, that two classes are at work in the elections with two class angularities. The object of the capitalist class is to try to sustain the crisis-ridden capitalism through the election. With this object, the class is projecting before the people those parties and groups which defend its interest by helping them with its money bag and the press and other propaganda media. In the coming election, for instance, the class is projecting before the people the Congress (I), the Janata Party and the Lok Dal-Congress (U) combine. Whoever among these may form government singly, or in alliance, or by swelling its ranks through defection and floorcrossing will no doubt faithfully serve the interest of the ruling capitalist class. As long as it can the capitalist class will be ensuring its interest in this way by propping up a new party, or creating an alliance of different parties and groups, or bringing back an old party in a new cloak, and thus hoodwinking the people. Because, it is easier for the class to hide the exploitative character of the capitalist state by maintaining a facade of democracy. If it fails in this bid for some

reason, it will drag the country into the dangerous course of constitutional dictatorship or military dictatorship.

Historic necessity of Genuine Left and Democratic Front

The object of the exploited proletariat, on the other hand, is to intensify rapidly the democratic mass movements conducive to the overthrow of capitalism by defeating all the bourgeois designs and use the election battle also to that end. To achieve this object it is the historical necessity in the present stage of democratic mass movement in our country to build up the united left and democratic front of all genuine left and democratic parties and forces. Naturally, this front cannot be an alliance for seat adjustments to meet only the election interests. This front will develop as a genuine instrument of mass struggle on the basis of a common minimum programme and code of conduct of democratic mass movement and in the course of conducting democratic mass movements, will also participate in election battles as a step conducive to growth of mass movements.

In other words, the only object of participating in election battles will be to strengthen democratic mass movements and the programme, organization and the style of conducting elections must be conducive to that movement. In this way will such a front co-ordinate scientifically the parliamentary battle with the extra-parliamentary struggle in order that democratic mass movement is strengthened at a fast pace and the people's own instruments of struggle are built up through this process. If ever voted to power through an election, the front will conduct the government from the same angularity.

For this reason, in 1967, our party had made the then United Front Government of West Bengal adopt the policy that 'police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements'. The significance of this policy was that the United Front, so long it was in the governmental power, would directly help develop the legitimate democratic movements of workers, peasants, etc. by keeping these free from police interference on the one hand and on the other to create a congenial atmosphere for the constant cult and practice of higher politics and culture so as to give a lift to the political-ethical consciousness of the people. It is to be noted however that the constituents of the then United Front, more particularly, its big partner the CPI(M) by abusing this policy in its petty sectarian party interest created widespread confusion among the people and objectively helped the vested interests to get strengthened.

Opportunist alliance of CPI & CPI(M) with Congress-Lok Dal

After the announcement of this election even, our party urged upon the left and democratic parties and forces including the CPI, CPI(M) for developing a united left and democratic front. But throwing people's genuine interest to four winds, these parties have not only not responded to our call but have left no stone unturned to forge their electoral alliances with all the reactionary bourgeois parties, on all-India plane and this they are passing for a left-democratic unity to befool their party ranks and the people. What can be a more glaring instance of rank opportunism?

Interference of two super-powers in the internal affairs of the country

It will be necessary to take serious note of another dangerous aspect. We know, the two super-powers—the USA in its imperialist interest and

Soviet Russia from its revisionist interest—are locked in competition to spread their respective influence and hegemony in different countries of the globe through interference in the domestic affairs of these countries by various means like pressure-tactics and manoeuvrings, toppling of governments, coup, picking up agents from among the dishonest politicians by bribing etc. Further, both these super-powers, taking advantage of the crisis in India's political system are poking their nose in the domestic affairs and in the prevailing international situation, it is the Soviet revisionist leadership that is playing the major role. Not only the genuine Marxist-Leninists but all those who put their faith in mass struggle cannot but feel serious concern at the principal threat and obstacle to revolutionary mass movements in our country coming from the alliance of CPI, CPI(M) and other domestic revisionist forces with their international patron—the revisionist leadership of Soviet Union.

A careful examination will reveal that it is in the interest and at the dictate of Soviet revisionism, not only the CPI, Madhu Limaye, Bahuguna groups etc. the known forces of Soviet lobby but even the CPI(M) leadership from their pro-Soviet line, all combined and stood in defence of Charan Singh. Again both the CPI and CPI(M) have of late, developed political closeness and are doing everything to make the most of the pro-Soviet alignment of political forces within the country, in furtherance of their parliamentary careerism.

In today's perspective when internationally, Soviet revisionism as a compromising force between imperialism-capitalism and revolutionary movement, national liberation struggle, is posing the main danger before the international revolutionary movement this combination of the domestic revisionist forces

(Contd. to page 5)

Geographical pattern of CPI(M)'s Left and Democratic Front

The CPI(M) has said in its election manifesto: "The Communist Party of India (Marxist) calls upon all the left and democratic parties and forces...to work together with a single will to defeat the force of authoritarianism led by the Congress (I) and the forces of communalism led by the Janata Party." Who are chief allies of such 'left and democratic' parties and forces? Says the same manifesto: "The CPI(M) has no hesitation to choose, appeal to the people to choose, the formation headed by the Janata(S) (now Lok Dal—Ed. P.E.) and the Congress which is electorally ranged against the authoritarian Congress(I)

and the RSS-Jana Sangh dominated Janata." Straightforward enough, it would seem. But CPI(M) dialectics is not as simple as that, because "There are anti-authoritarian forces even in the Congress(I) as there are secular elements in Janata Party" (press briefing by Numbodiripad, Indian Express, 12.9.79). Paradoxical? Not at all, See how the CPI(M) in accordance with Sri Pramode Dasgupta's recent discovery that the dialectics of situation varies from state to state, has cleverly solved the problem by finding left and democratic' allies in diverse quarters, in the different states:

| State | CPI(M)'s 'Left and Democratic' allies |
|-------------|---|
| Andhra | Janata, Congress, CPI |
| Assam | Janata, Congress, Lok Dal, CPI. |
| Bihar | Congress, Lok Dal, CPI |
| Karnataka | Congress, CPI (Talks with Janata in progress) |
| Kerala | Muslim League (Bakkar group), Kerala Congress (Moni group), CPI |
| Maharashtra | Congress, Parallel Congress, Janata, CPI, PWP. |
| Orissa | Congress, Lok Dal, CPI. |
| Punjab | Akali, Congress, Lok Dal. |
| Tamilnadu | Janata, AIADMK, CPI. |
| Tripura | Left Front Parties, CPI. |
| U. P. | Lok Dal, Congress, CPI. |
| West Bengal | 'Left Front' parties, CPI |

From the above, it can be seen that communal Janata is 'Left and Democratic' in Andhra, Assam, Maharashtra and Tamilnadu but of course, it is very, very communal in other states. However, if talks between Janata and CPI(M) succeed in Karnataka, Janata will become secular there too!

Congress and Lok Dal are bourgeois parties and Sri Charan Singh is an arch-kulak, but they are anti-authoritarian and secular alright and the CPI(M) has appealed to the people to support them in the coming election. In practice, however, the CPI(M) finds them absolutely reactionary in West Bengal and Tripura and

finds Lok Dal worse than communal Janata in Andhra, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Tamilnadu.

In Tamilnadu the parochial AIADMK staunch supporter of Sm. Indira Gandhi during the Emergency is a left and democratic ally! AIADMK is a partner of Lok Dal-Congress in the Central cabinet, but is at the same time in alliance with Janata in the state! DMK ministry was toppled by Indira Gandhi's Government during Emergency, but now DMK and Indira Congress are electoral allies!

In Punjab, communal Akali Party is 'left and democratic'!

In Kerala, Muslim

Whom the CPI(M) call reactionary and communal in one state become progressive in another

(Contd. from page 4)

like CPI and CPI(M) with Soviet revisionism coupled with extension of their influence over mass struggle will no doubt spell much more serious danger to the development of revolutionary movement in our country, particularly in the states where these parties are running the governments. All this cannot but be a matter of serious concern to all genuine Marxist-Leninists and left oriented democratic minded people. The rank and file members of CPI(M) and other left and democratic parties who still hold high the noble ideology of Marxism-Leninism, who still cherish their allegiance to democratic mass movements, should with all care deeply ponder over all these portentous events.

On plea of handling contradictions within bourgeoisie CPI and CPI(M) are in reality helping capitalism to consolidate

These parties have all along painted the power

League (Bakkar group) is 'non-communal' since it is in association with the CPI(M). The other faction of Muslim League, the Koya group, is now very communal but Koya had earlier been found 'progressive' when he was education minister in the Nambodiripad ministry in the state!

Let us hope that, before long, the CPI(M) would find out the progressives wherever they are in the Congress (I) and strike alliance with them. The Indira Congress rewarded the CPI(M) by not putting up candidate against it in bye-election for Nidumalu in Andhra last year because the CPI(M) had not supported the resolution in the Lok Sabha to debar Sreemati Gandhi from membership. In several areas of Kerala, the CPI(M)

conflicts between different bourgeois parties, groups and individual leaders as the struggle between progress and reaction and on the pretext of handling the contradictions within the bourgeois class, have in reality, ranged themselves with this or that bourgeois combination.

On the morrow of the national independence they thus projected Jawharlal as the force of progress as against Patel representing reactionary forces and declared their support to Jawharlal. Thus they helped the Indian bourgeoisie to consolidate capitalist rule by using Jawharlal's image. Later, these parties again projected Indira as the champion of progress as against the Congress (O) at the time of split in Congress and right from bank nationalisation defended all the measures of Indira Gandhi as progressive and thereby helped in strengthening her. CPI(M)'s eulogy of Indira Gandhi went so far as to see in her forces a "healthy trend" of "democratic aspiration" that

had alliance with Congress (I) in the recent municipal and panchayat election. Earlier, the CPI(M) had covert alliance with Congress (I) in some areas during panchayat elections in West Bengal and are now running a good number of panchayats jointly with the Congress (I). Remember what Kamal Nath, a Congress emissary and a close associate of Sanjay Gandhi, said at Calcutta. On 10th October last after a long talk with Sri Jyoti Basu? He told the journalists that both the Congress(I) and the CPI(M) are progressive forces and they may have to work together in future and therefore, nothing should be done to strain the relation between them.

(The Statesman, 11.10.79)

Let us not, therefore, lose heart!

"hates monopoly capitalism and big landlordism". They even gave the call of a national united front with the section of Congress led by Indira Gandhi. Justifying this class-collaborationist stand, they held:

"This alone will make it possible to remove the confusion...and pave the way for broader front of the democratic forces, including a section of the Indira Gandhi Congress who are earnest about the struggle against the vested interest".

(Italics ours—CPI(M) General Secretary's letter to Indira Gandhi—People's Democracy, 1.2.70).

Not only this, CPI(M) leadership, while reiterating its support to every act of Indira Gandhi Government in its fight against the threat of Syndicate urged all the democratic parties to be wide awake to this danger and come forward to defeat it—(People's Democracy 11.1.70)

They did not join even in Bihar and Gujarat movements led by J.P. against the misrule of Indira Government on the plea that Jana Sangh, Congress (O) and such other reactionary forces were associated with those. When on the pretext that the right reactionary forces like Jana Sangh, Congress (O) and others had appeared as big threats to democracy, Indira Gandhi clamped emergency rule, let loose an orgy of violence and repression on the people and thus gave democracy a burial, the CPI(M) Polit Bureau members met her on the 9th April, 1976, to present a memorandum on behalf of the party. "The Party's record, the memorandum asserted, is one of consistently carrying on a political ideological fight against rightist policies. Whether pursued by internal or external forces and against policies of

(Contd. to page 6)

(Contd. from page 5)

extreme left".—(People's Democracy April 25, 1976)

Thus, by assuring her the support of the party in the note presented to Indira, they were actually defending her very plea for clamping the emergency.

Volte face of CPI(M), CPI— a recent instance

Thus, till 1976, throughout the long reign of Indira Gandhi they supported Indira Congress projecting it as progressive etc. and calling Janata, Congress as forces of extreme reaction.

But just within a year, at the time of election in 1977, they changed overnight their old political stand, sensing the strong anti-Indira feelings and sentiments of the people. They suddenly discovered that erstwhile progressive Indira Gandhi had turned out to be the main danger and Janata party formed of the "arch reactionary" rightist parties like Jana Sangha and Congress (O) had become the champion of democracy. With this political somersault and allowing hot over so-called defence of democracy, they forged electoral alliance with the Janata Party in the last election and calling it a 'friendly government' gave all support to Janata Government for long twenty eight months. Although during this period, savage Hindu-Muslim riots broke out at Jamshedpur and Aligarh in which the hands of RSS did not remain secret. But till the very day of fall of Morarji Government, they could not see the dominance of RSS in the Janata Party. But the moment they saw that the fall of Janata Government was imminent and the possibility of Charan Singh becoming the Prime Minister, they made the golden discovery of the dominance of RSS within Janata Party and despite their calling Charan Singh a 'kulak leader' earlier and even knowing the support of authoritarian Indira behind him for ulterior motive they not only decided to support but moved

Indian Politics at the crossroad—either the bourgeoisie will thrust upon the country worst kind of autocracy or people will resist by mass movement

actively to make Charan Singh the Prime Minister.

Demagogy can hardly cover up their most unethical political conducts

It is therefore obvious that CPI(M) in particular has always given its support to whichever party coming to power at the centre affixing to it a 'progressive' label but trotted out every time a so-called 'theory' to conceal their political opportunism. And behind political decisions of support or opposition, morals or ethics had never any place but what counted was the opportunist calculation of gain or loss in bourgeois parliamentary politics. In political opportunism, they have surpassed even the CPI.

For instance, CPI(M) calls the Janata Party 'communal' and are fighting it in the coming election but is supporting the Sharad Pawar Government in Maharashtra in which the same Janata Party is a partner. In Andhra and other South-Indian states they call the same 'communal' Janata Party 'progressive' and have declared the possibility of electoral alliance with it. From their wall writings and propaganda in party journals it may appear that nobody is more opposed as they are to Indira Congress but they are running the Panchayats in alliance with the same very party, not only in West Bengal but elsewhere. Can there be more unprincipled and opportunist policies than this?

Again, sensing the deep aversion of the party ranks and supporters, they have not made an open alliance in West Bengal with the Lok Dal and Congress with whom they are desperately seeking alliance in other parts of the country. So, what actual arrangements they are making with these parties behind the

scene in West Bengal is a big question. The possibility of CPI(M)'s coming to clandestine understanding with these parties on some seats even maintaining a show of fight by putting up candidates cannot be ruled out. They are therefore busy in inventing queer logics to hide their worst kind of political opportunism. To cover up the palpable self-contradictory position of open alliance with Lok Dal Congress on the all-India plane and no open alliance with those parties in West Bengal, they go to the absurd length of calling those parties progressive elsewhere but reactionary only in West Bengal! Similarly, according to their queer 'theory', Janata Party is progressive in the South but reactionary in the North! Whether a political party can at all be characterised in this manner is entirely their business! But the only consistency in all their political acrobatics is to grab anyhow as many seats as possible through various combinations with the bourgeois parties locked in power conflict with the sole object of sharing power with them. Thus by confusing the people with their signboard of Leftism, they are directly helping in the bourgeois design of giving a lease of life to the crisis-ridden capitalism.

While defending capitalism all bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties have become authoritarian and are fostering communalism

These parties are painting the coming election as a fight against authoritarianism and communalism. Even in characterising the authoritarian rule, they are making the role of an individual leader solely responsible. But all politically conscious

people know that authoritarianism, whatever its form, is the general feature of capitalist rule today. At the last parliamentary poll, they sought the people's mandate on the slogan of restoration of democracy; but how much of it has been restored really? True, the internal emergency has been lifted, but all the Black Acts are still in force. The MISA has been withdrawn, but the states have been empowered to reintroduce and continue it. And the PD Act has been reintroduced. Although censorship has been lifted, an unwritten censorship is still in operation. So much so that for the publication of a particular news item about our party in a newspaper controlled by the West Bengal Government, the concerned reporter, a noted journalist, was called to the Writers' Buildings and snubbed. Is this democracy? Restoration of democracy in people's interest means restoring to the people their inalienable right to build democratic mass movements. Has this right been actually restored in the country? During the Janata rule at the Centre, hundreds of workers had been killed in firing at Kanpur, Bailadilla, Panthnagar, etc. in order to suppress brutally their legitimate democratic movements. And Charan Singh was the Home Minister when all these had taken place. The same Charan Singh is 'progressive' today in the eye of the CPI(M). Because in the same manner the CPI(M) too suppressed the port workers' movement in Calcutta by killing several workers in firing, let loose a terrible police repression on the power workers of Santaldih and set an example of extreme atrocity by suppressing the movement of the refugees

of Marichjhanpi. But this is not all. The 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal, soon after assuming office, buried even the minimum of freedom and autonomy that still existed in the different educational institutions including the Calcutta University by taking over their control by executive fiat without any regard for the opinions of the educationists, let alone the public opinion. This Government is taking measures fraught with dangerous consequences on such vital issues like language policy and education system. The common people and the educationists have already given vent to their strong feelings about all these, particularly the language policy.

But the Government pay no heed to the public opinion. The oppression by the police and the administration continues as before everywhere; nowhere have their powers been curbed. Let alone making any inquiry, even FIRs against CPI(M) workers for their strong arm tactics and acts of hooliganism are not admitted in police stations. The police and anti-social elements are being used to mount assaults on workers of opponent parties, especially of our party. They are being implicated in false cases and are being savagely tortured in police lock ups. The CPI(M) workers are forcibly obstructing the election campaigns of opponent parties, erasing their wall writings and forcibly using those walls in presence of the police for their own writings. Several lakhs of false voters have been enlisted in preparation for rigging on a massive scale. Can these be called anything but authoritarian conduct? The fact of the matter is that whoever defends capitalism, after coming to Governmental power in this period of moribund capitalism, has to take to this course—whether by raising the slogan of democracy or donning the cloak of Leftism.

(Contd. to Page 7)

(Contd. from page 6)

Congress (I), Janata Congress, Lok Dal Even CPI(M), CPI is Fostering Communalism To Serve Their Petty Party Interest

So is the character of their slogan against communalism. Who does not know that all the bourgeois parties have had their hands behind the fratricidal riots over caste, religion, community, etc. breaking out almost every year since the independence? It is nothing but a heinous design of the bourgeoisie to foster communal disharmony among the people and fan it up at opportune moments and places in order to drive a wedge into the unity of the people, and weaken the democratic mass movement thereby. That is why, even during the 28 months of the Janata rule, communal riots had flared up at many places including Aligarh and Jamshedpur. And all these had taken place during Charan Singh's stewardship of the Home Ministry. We have witnessed riots at Nadia and Narkeldanga under the 'Left Front' Government's rule. After the calamity of Nadia, the 'Left Front' Government had taken out peace processions in its bid to hoodwink the people, but it did nowhere take any effective steps against the rioters. Newspaper reports have revealed that the CPI(M)'s elected representatives to the Panchayats had been directly involved in the Nadia riot. The party has struck alliance with the communal and parochial parties like the Muslim League in Kerala, Akali party in Punjab and AIADMK in Tamil Nadu. This is how it is fighting against communalism. No wonder that the CPI(M) found in Charan Singh a dependable ally in their fight against communalism. If the party were really interested in freeing the country from the menace of authoritarianism and communalism, it would have come out to join in the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system which is the root cause of authoritarianism

and communalism. Because, capitalism in this period is always associated with the shadow of authoritarianism and communalism as its general features and whoever defends capitalism will inevitably take recourse to these too. Without this class approach to the issue, the CPI(M), by the way it is raising the issue, is diverting the people's attention from the root cause of the problems and objectively helping in defence of capitalism. And it is doing so because, like the bourgeois parties, it has also become a partner of the present capitalist system.

Utter bankruptcy of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties serving capitalist interest

It is therefore crystal clear that in the coming election, whatever may be outward conflict among the Congress (I), Janata Party, Lok Dal-Congress combination as also the fake Left parties like the CPI and CPI(M), they are all in the fray to appear as the defender of capitalism on all India plane, behind the cover of their respective slogans.

Capitalising on the ever-intensifying infights and rivalries among different groups and leaders inside the Janata Party at the Centre, whose reflections are there also in the state Government run by it, on ultimate fall of the Janata Government at the Centre, the continuous process of disintegration within the bourgeois parties and almost daily emergence of splinter parties and groups, and what is more, the consequent serious instability in the bourgeois parliamentary system itself, Indira Gandhi has raised the slogan of 'stable government' to confuse and misdirect the people.

Whether the Indira Congress would be able to form a stable Government after this election is a different question; but it should be understood that this party too is not free from the crisis that is causing splits in the bourgeois parties.

MAKE SUCI CANDIDATES VICTORIOUS TO UPHOLD THE LINE OF CLASS STRUGGLE AND STRENGTHEN MASS MOVEMENTS

Last time, when she was in power, Mrs. Gandhi's fall had become inevitable following rifts in her party. And this time splits started right from the beginning. Moreover, those who had once left the Indira Congress, but are now returning to it, were not guided by any ideological questions, neither at the time of leaving nor at the time of returning. So, even if the Congress(I) succeeds in forming a Government after the polls, splits will inevitably affect it owing to the crisis.

A stable Government of Congress (I) Means Extreme Hardship in People's Life—Give a Crushing Defeat to this Party

Moreover, in the present class-divided society of our country, where a capitalist state exists, a stable rule can only mean a stable capitalist class rule—that is to say, stability for this moribund, crisis-ridden capitalist system. The capitalists would certainly want it, but what has it to do with the interest of the exploited masses? In the last five years alone of the ten year stable rule of the Congress led by Indira Gandhi, the total assets of the monopoly houses increased to Rs. 5401 crores from Rs. 3072 crores. This stable rule gave the people false promises, greater poverty, more unemployment, repression, communal riots, killings and dictatorship. The stability gave the common people the suffocating, savage fascist rule of the internal emergency, and an unbridled repressive power, through abuse of the Prime Minister's powers, to her son Sanjoy. It let loose a reign of corruption and debauchery of power on the country. It vested in the industrialists and jotedars the unquestionable right to repress with all atrocity workers, employees, poor peasants and share croppers. And it

empowered the police and the administration with the right to perpetrate oppression on the common people. And what did the people get? It is for this unbearable oppression that hatred, discontent and strong public opinion were created among the people against the Congress led by Indira Gandhi and the party was totally condemned and rejected by the people at the last poll. A stable Government and rule of Indira Gandhi will mean return of those dark days of the past. Therefore, for the sake of the people's interests, the Congress (I) must be given a crushing defeat at the mid-term polls.

To hide its own divisive role Janata is raising slogan of national unity—give a crushing defeat to this party also

The Janata Party, after its anti-people rule of 28 months, is taking part in this election with the slogan of national unity. Amidst the country-wide disunity and divisive trends—the party calculates it can confuse the people with this slogan. There cannot be any doubt that its slogan of national unity in the present class-divided society means national unity in the interest of the ruling capitalist class. The people's interest has, therefore, nothing to do with this call for national unity. Secondly, because the basic reasons for accentuation of disintegration of the bourgeois parties will continue to remain, for which the constituents of the Janata could not maintain the unity they had once achieved, it will be impossible for the party to maintain unity in the future too. Reports on the clash already taking place between Jagjivan Ram and the erstwhile Jana Sangh group in the Janata and the former's talk with individuals and political forces outside the Janata

have appeared in the newspapers. Thirdly, extreme divisive and communal forces like the Jana Sangh and indirectly the RSS exist within the Janata posing danger to unity and solidarity of the people. So, the bourgeois design must be fought against by giving a crushing defeat to the Janata Party also.

The motive behind the slogan against authoritarianism and communalism raised with fanfare by the Congress and Lok Dal is to hoodwink the people, divert their attention from the basic problems and come to governmental power. As bourgeois parties they cannot but foster authoritarianism and communalism. They have also raised the slogan for clean administration and politics. This slogan of clean administration coming as it does from those who encouraged defection from greed for power and who were born in the filthy politics of defection is a sheer hoax. Their politics of defection has made the present corrupt political atmosphere all the more polluted and has aggravated the cultural, moral and ethical degeneration of the society. The pseudo-Left parties like the CPI(M) and their allies, hand in glove with these bourgeois parties, are now assisting in the defence of crisis-ridden capitalism and are engaged in a conspiracy to arrest democratic mass movement in the quagmire of opportunism and within the ambit of parliamentary politics. This unholy alliance must also be given a crushing defeat in the coming election.

Build political power of the people to overthrow capitalism

The people should always bear in mind that they can win emancipation only by overthrowing the present capitalist system. And for that, the urgent task at present is to build democratic mass movements conducive to the

(Contd. to page 8)

ELECTION MANIFESTO

(Contd. from page 7)
anti-capitalist socialist revolution. People's committees, as people's own instrument of struggle, will have to be organised through these mass movements and ultimately the people's alternative political power will have to be built by developing these committees step by step through numerous struggles on a higher base of political and cultural consciousness.

Historic role of SUCI in building mass movement

Our party, guided by the thoughts and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has repeatedly appealed to all the Left and democratic parties and forces of the country to build a genuine Left and democratic Front in order to organise and develop legitimate democratic mass movements. But as there was no response from them the Central Committee of our party adopted a programme on March last to build up on its own a country-wide democratic mass movement and advance it step by step to higher stages. As soon as the movement was launched on the basis of this programme in different states in keeping with the party's organisational strength and capacity the reactionary ruling clique frightened at this development, started mounting onslaughts on the movement. Even at the preparatory stage of the movement, one of our party's organisers, Comrade Jagdeo Paswan, member of Monghyr District Organising Committee of the Party and Secretary of Monghyr District KKMf, fell victim to their attack. He was brutally murdered in firing by an anti-social gang of the Bihar Janata party in connivance with the police on the 11th June last while he was returning home after attending a public meeting.

In West Bengal the movement began with a

programme of mass violation of law in Calcutta on the 15th June last. Over 70 000 people participated in this mass violation. The 'Left Front' Government resorted to savage repression on the movement. They arrested 6500 people, fired teargas shells indiscriminately, resorted to a brutal lathi-charge and even drove a police van through the mass of thousands of peaceful participants. Again in the second phase of movement on the 31st August, this Government mounted onslaughts by police and anti-social elements on the peaceful mass violation of law in the districts of the state. Press reporters, photographers and even government employees were not spared. On the 29th October, mass squattings were held at the block development offices in all the districts. About 10,000 people were arrested in the mass violation of law in Assam on the 25th June and many were injured in police attacks. A massive demonstration of thousands of people was held in Bhubaneswar in Orissa. The movement made a great impact on the common people throughout the country. In this way, a ground for countrywide mass movement was being created and the common people had been gradually rallying in the movement. It cannot be ruled out that the bourgeois design to undermine democratic mass movement, whether organised by us or spontaneous, by diverting people's resentment, even if temporarily, into the course of election by calling the mid-term poll was at work.

Reflect voice of extraparlimentary mass movement inside parliament

Under the circumstance, since this election has been thrust upon while movements are on, it will have to be faced as inci-

dental to mass movement and the election battle must be conducted as part and parcel of and to strengthen mass movement so that the mass movements can be further intensified on the burning problems of the people and also on the demand of right to recall the elected representatives betraying the cause of the people. And for this, those representatives should be elected who will reflect the voice of mass movement inside the parliament and help develop mighty extra-parliamentary movements by exposing the anti-people design of the bourgeois and pseudo-Left parties both within the parliament and outside.

So long the phase of democratic mass movement continues, we shall have to strengthen mass movements continuously through this process of integrating the struggle inside the parliament with the struggle outside. Therefore, in the interest of strengthening mass movements the SUCI candidates should be made victorious.

Keep mass movement unabated—make victorious candidates tested in mass movement

In the constituencies where there are no SUCI candidates the people's interest will have to be upheld on the one hand by building the people's committees as instrument of struggle at the initiative of workers, peasants, students and youths, advancing broad-based and united democratic mass movements stage by stage on the edifice of higher culture and ethics and putting up candidates tested in mass movements and on the other hand by defeating the anti-people, unprincipled politics of the bourgeois and pseudo-Left parties.

Make SUCI candidates victorious

Other than the SUCI there is no party in the country today to lead democratic mass movement. All others known as Left parties have abandoned the path of mass movement and aligned themselves with one or another of the bourgeois combinations in order to reap harvest in this election. Despite repeated appeals none of these parties are coming forward to build up united movements. It is crystal-clear today that all these parties have gone over to the side directly opposed to mass movement, and revolution. Only SUCI is holding aloft the banner of mass movement, the

banner of revolution. The SUCI has emerged historically on the Indian soil as the genuine revolutionary party under the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh with correct base political line, correct revolutionary strategy and tactics. This party alone is capable of building the people's alternative political power by organising and developing democratic mass movements on the edifice of higher proletarian culture and ethics in order to lead the struggle for emancipation to its logical culmination. Therefore, in order to strengthen SUCI in the interest of people's emancipation make victorious the SUCI candidates steered in mass movement.

WHO FOUGHT INDIRA'S POLITICS— SUCI OR CPI(M) ?

(Contd. from page 3)

democratic rights of the people. We demand immediate withdrawal of Emergency and release of all leaders including Shri Jayaprokash Narayan, who have been arrested."

On punishment of Indira Gandhi CPI(M) Polit Bureau statement :

"The purpose of such punishment will be foiled if it rouses suspicion in the minds of the people that....(it) is being used to nullify the Chikmagalur verdict.

"In such a situation to strike heroic and militant poses on the privilege issue and demand extreme action will be counter-productive in the struggle against authoritarianism."

(People's Democracy, 10.12.78)

SUCI Central committee's statement

"The manner in which the issue of Mrs. Indira Gandhi has been handled from the very beginning and the fact that both the ruling Janata Party and entire opposition including the so-called lefts have obliged themselves by reducing her political crime of butchering democratic rights and perpetuating a fascistic regime on the people to the violating the privilege of the House, unmistakably point to a serious fact that under the smokescreen of acrimonious debates and air of animosity generated in Parliament and outside there lies a typical identity of interest between these mock fighters in deceiving the common people by diverting their attention from her real crime"....

(Proletarian Era, 1.1.79)

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